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FROM HOME TO THE CHARGE: A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE SOLDIER

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FROM CITIZEN TO SOLDIER

The men who are fighting under the peculiar strain of modern war, exhibiting qualities apparently hitherto foreign to their nature, living in unprecedented situations and enduring hardships with great calm and utter fearlessness were a short time ago peaceful and normal citizens. To understand the transformation of character many personal narratives must be followed and close investigation made of the subtle influences which have played upon the soldier mind. Whatever conclusions are derived it is evident the soldier is created out of the citizen material, that with him he brings in some way not yet clearly defined the legacy of the phylum, the power of response to certain situations, and that according to the persistence of human experience the pre-war man must largely determine the responses made to the unusual environment of the battle-field. The evidence so far accumulated is sufficient to demonstrate that even the mental attitude assumed towards army service will often determine types of behavior under certain circumstances. A soldier is governed by his desires. If he has unwillingly renounced the past to participate in the ordeal of battle ensuing unconscious psychic conflicts play a great role in his new career. All such soldiers, whether volunteer or conscript, are tremendously influenced by repressed desires and the light thrown upon the working of the unconscious by a study of war neuroses opens up a large field for psychologists. What phylogeny and onto-

geny contribute to soldier qualities must be considered therefore along with the response made to the immediate environmental stimuli.

So suddenly precipitated was the present conflict that the potential soldier had very little time for reflection. The nation was plunged into mental chaos. Previous to the declaration of war this was characterized by psychic tension—expectation, restlessness, anxiety and a growing depression. Responsible individuals tried to comprehend the pending national catastrophe from a personal standpoint; political considerations were intensified and the ego assumed greater importance as these were finally interpreted in the light of protection for family and of business interests. When hostilities began however, there resulted a submerging of the individual into the national consciousness, a process which was slow and never complete in the experience of many. Life was characterized by quick associations, impulsive and precipitate judgments and greatly accelerated activities. Individual thinking almost ceased, the processes of consciousness for many were stagnant and dissociated; people were governed almost entirely by their emotions. All minor political and religious differences faded, the sense of self was diminished and persons who were previously reserved and self-contained found themselves one with thousands of others in will, acts and feelings. In this condition where there was marked contagion of affective states and imitation played an unusually important rôle people often acted with abandon and regretted their behavior in the few quieter moments of reflection. Everywhere the mob spirit gained mastery. Those who as individuals were respected and admired for mental stability and independent action were one with the crowd in thought and deed. All psychic activity was collective, strong and quick. There seemed to be a diminution of personal responsibility, of the ego's power to resist erstwhile repugnant and antipathetic suggestion. Consequently unnecessary food panics resulted and the least item of bad news assumed alarming proportions. In such a state of unbalanced mental equilibrium communities reacted all out of proportion to the nature of the stimuli, and some collapsed under the pressure of the feverish activity. Owing to business panics men were forced into unemployment or else were requested to enlist immediately if they desired to retain their position in the post-war period. Whole cities faced new problems through the influx of soldiery and the commandeering of equipment necessary for government purposes. In a few days the tra-

ditional, habitual modes of living experienced a metamorphosis bordering upon the miraculous so that people lived in an unreal world, often of overwrought fancy.

Great credulity was characteristic of the peoples of all the warring nations. Thus in Germany stories of the capture of the Russian fleet in the Kiel Canal were believed and one author, (W. D. Kurt), tells of a persistent rumor that a yellow French auto with 400 millions in gold was somewhere on its way through Germany to Russia and all kinds of precautions were taken. Bridges were barred and watchmen were posted. A driver of a large yellow auto was shot, apparently by the police, and many others were held up by officials and mobs. In one case even a Prussian officer on a suspicious auto was fired upon despite his vigorous protest. Rumors often reached the newspapers of the approach of a vehicle of this kind. In England we were constantly informed of the landing of Russian troops on the east coast of Scotland and that they were continually passing along the east coast on their way to France. Many persons vowed they had seen them even in the terminal station of Liverpool although as we now know such accounts were pure fiction. So complete was the mental instability that any story was immediately believed if it revived or bolstered the lagging and dejected spirits. The constant fear of danger to one's person and nation created psychic states voracious for fanciful phenomena.

In addition to the preceding factors the potential soldier was influenced by a more subtle suggestion. He saw the military uniform everywhere. In the parks he watched hundreds of young men drilling; men who had immediately enlisted. Their untidy appearance and awkward movements at first amused him, but soon, as the men under competent leaders gained poise and military smartness, his contempt turned to respect. Invariably he experienced strange emotions followed by the decision "I must enlist." If he approached a recruiting station the long lines of young men eagerly and patiently waiting to join mysteriously attracted him. Many have declared "The mob spirit gained mastery over me." An important suggestive factor was the advertising posters. Wherever the citizen turned he was confronted by them. They were appealing. He was hypnotized by their personal application. He was needed; upon him depended the safety of his country and his home. At one moment his social instinct surged into consciousness, another that for self-preservation. Furthermore these posters created group attitudes until everyone thought in the mode they sug-

gested. They became topics of conversation with a moral of no uncertain sound, and thousands responded at their suggestion. While the picture was the most appealing factor of these posters, the short, pointed sentence, printed in appropriate ink, seldom failed to occupy the attention for hours and days. As an illustration of these we have the following:

1. "England Expects Every Man to do His Duty"
and
Join the Army
To-day.
2. "Join the brave throng that goes marching along." (with
picture of soldiers marching).
3. Surely you will fight for your King (picture of) and
Country (picture of). Come along boys before it is
too late.
4. Why Aren't
You
in Khaki?
You'll be wanted.
Enlist at once.
5. Thousands
Have Answered
The Nation's Call,
But You May Be
The One
To turn the scale
at a critical moment.

Do you realize this?

Consequently from the factory, work-shop, store, farm, office and college, men flocked to the colors. They had been motivated to respond by many forces which may be summarized as: the emotions of fear, anger, and the instinct of self-preservation; love of adventure; social pressure including family tradition; economic pressure; the desire to win the praise of friends and of the community, and the sense of the heroic. Undoubtedly for some the army offered a path of least resistance, a means of security with approval, so uncertain had personal matters become. Of this heterogeneous army Von Hindenburg said, "Even if there were a million, they would form no real army, but a uniformed crowd." He did not estimate the fundamental nature of the

human organism and its power of adaptability when activated by the instinct of self-preservation, nor did he consider the moulding force of a directed purposeful environment.

The army is a leveller of social groups. In the ranks common dangers, sharing of difficulties, eating, sleeping and working together, wearing similar uniforms and being subject to the same rigid rules, weaves around the men a cloak of brotherhood and breaks down individual distinctions. Between men and officers however there remains a social distinction. It appears necessary to enforce discipline. Men will more readily obey those whom they are accustomed to recognize as socially superior, who have "blue blood" in their veins. Even older men readily obey the commands and trust themselves to younger officers provided they possess the mark of social superiority. When once the average soldier dons the uniform his individuality begins to submerge, to dwarf into nothingness and to find a new life in the group consciousness. One man said, "We had lost our individuality, and it was to be months before we regained it in a new aspect, a collective individuality of which we became increasingly proud." (27, p. 9.)

Personal liberty becomes a thing of the past; the new society and the state assume paramount importance. With this transition there comes peace, mental poise and relaxation. Previously the emotions had been at a high tension, men felt as if they would 'burst' as they were torn asunder by impulses and desires. Now with the loss of responsibility they can rest with abandon, cease to think about old problems and find psychic and physical relief in the simplicity of their surroundings.

The rapidity of adaptation is determined by the mental constitution of the individual and the motive which prompted his enlisting. If he unreservedly entered the army, or has reconciled personal and state obligations, he will soon fit in; but if not, if he has been coerced into army life, his actions will be marked by sullen independence and unsocial behavior, while probably some mental complex will be built up to buttress his desires and to obtain release from actual fighting.

Necessarily the change is slow. After six months training in Canada and England a college friend wrote, "It seems strange not to be able to arrange one's own plans but to merely obey and to shut up," and another soldier put it, "At the beginning they were individuals, no more cohesive than so many grains of wet sand. After nine months of training they acted as a unit, obeying orders with that instinctive

promptness of action which is so essential on the field of battle when men think scarcely at all." (27, p. 32.)

No environmental change could be more radical. New forces impinge upon the mind and create a different mental attitude. Everywhere things move with precision, organization makes life mechanistic, and the details of the present control the attention and blur the memory of the past. Initiative and freedom of thought are no longer possible. Both are dangerous. The men must obey. Consequently discipline is all-important and to secure the psychic state conducive to child-like obedience and unquestioning performance of commands, and at the same time to keep the respect of the men, is the most difficult task of the officer.

"Half the work of their instructors consists in getting them into the proper frame of mind and giving them that esprit de corps which is essential to the war fitness of a volunteer army." (67, p. 11.)

At first the men are surly and obey unwillingly. They find fault with details yet accept hardships cheerily. The details appear as impositions seemingly unnecessary from their point of view of war. Gradually they realize the futility of kicking against the pricks and learn they belong entirely to the government. Only the officers are allowed to think upon the affairs of the regiment. It is a dogma that they alone possess common sense.

"To safeguard this dogma from ridicule it is necessary that the men should be prevented from thinking. Their attention is to be fully occupied with such mechanical operations as the polishing of their buttons in order that the officer may think without fear of contradiction." (28, p. 31.)

and

"Cleaning greasy pots, scrubbing floors and drilling produced no thrills. They simply bored us. Life was dull and prosaic, and, as we have said, uncomfortable. No one ever said anything interesting. We never got a chance to sit down and think things out." (28, p. 107.)

It should be noted that the author of the preceding quotations represents an extreme type of individual. Being a university graduate he naturally finds army life dull and prosaic, yet he is better equipped to pass judgment upon the mental lethargy so common to the soldier experience.

In the training camp, hundreds of miles away from the war zone where life is simple and strict, the finer sensibilities are clouded, the mind assumes little importance and the body occupies the prominent place. Men live in the realm of the physical; the psychic activities are reduced to the lowest level. There is no mental stimulation, intellectual compan-

ionship is rare, the attention is focussed upon the immediate surroundings and conversation is concerned with the trivialities common to the camp. Every man thinks about the same subjects, which are seldom philosophical, religious, emotional or problematical; there is lack of criticism, but great docility and naïveté so that the mind becomes simple, shallow and childish. Very seldom do they talk about the trend of the war, yet they look forward eagerly to their advent into the war zone. Gradually images of the civil life fade and only in a limited manner do they think of home and friends. Their quarrels are usually over the possession of pleasure-supplying commodities; they never suffer mentally, only physically. Some men are exceptions owing to their previous mental training but by far the majority live entirely in the realm of sense impressions.

For the most part the soldiers who are in the ranks represent a society unaccustomed to specific intellectual pursuits; they have been accustomed to obey their superiors in other careers and consequently the surrendering of individuality is not difficult and is, in fact, compensated by the pleasures and physical activities of the group. There ensues however for a smaller company of men of intellectual attainment a mental conflict in which the love of individual liberty and self assertion, long enjoyed and cherished, revolts against military despotism. Owing to the rigorous discipline and the absence of mental stimulation, to the sense of isolation, these men are forced to repress their wishes and to philosophically accept the fate of their environment. Some yield to the regressive tendencies and with the majority find pleasure on the lower phyletic levels, but others retain their former poise and personality, they have a strong imagination or as one has aptly expressed, a sense of the dramatic. They obey and execute commands immediately and often become leaders of companies but they are never really one with the crowd in thinking and behavior. Representative of this group are business men and students. One of these says:

"It is a faculty which gives zest to life: putting boredom and oppression to flight, stimulating humor, humility and idealism." (28, p. 182.)

Few, however, can sublimate their wishes and turn their energy into imaginative and constructive channels. The majority revert to animal levels, are the slaves of impulse and desire and are governed almost solely by the pleasure-pain principle. Much of their spare time is spent telling obscene stories and in jesting about sexual matters.

A soldier's training aims to give a consciousness of physical fitness. Nothing is more important than a sound body, well coördinated, supple, healthy and strong. It increases self-confidence, gives self-control, creates morale and prepares the nervous system for the more strenuous work of actual fighting. Also certain types of behavior must be established, the mind accustomed to resist shock and a peculiar emotional experience evoked, similar to the excitement of the charge. All activities are planned to elevate the physical and to put the intellectual life in abeyance. From reveille until "lights out," the red blood is kept pounding through their veins. At daybreak the men are awake and for one hour before breakfast go through Swedish drill. As they progress in the execution of duties, leaving behind squad, platoon and company drill, the more important work of field manoeuvres constitute part of the program. Twice a week the battalion marches from ten to fifteen miles. For months several hours daily are devoted to musket and bayonet practice. During the latter the men charge over fields and into the trenches to thrust the blade into dummy figures. Trenches are constructed, instruction is given in bombing, sniping and the use of machine guns, in fact, every condition of the war zone is imitated as much as possible. Special training is afforded according to the division and type of service, and all is characterized by earnest, eager endeavor to do the task thoroughly and creditably for the honor of the battalion. Occasionally mimic battles take place in which between ten and twenty thousand men on each side oppose each other. Artillery, infantry, cavalry, field ambulance, air craft, in fact, every branch of army service engage and share in victory or defeat. In all practice of attack in open formation upon intrenched positions the men finish with terrific bayonet charges shouting lustily as they proceed.

After the duties of the day are over the soldiers engage in boxing, wrestling and athletic contests. The spirit of rivalry, of attack and defense is fostered whenever possible. Companies compete with one another in all branches of athletics: the soldier is a sportsman. In many ways the physical energy finds expression. There is continual horse-play, much practical joking, very often fist fighting, and withal much pleasantry, and an abundance of fun. Various organizations, foremost of which is the Y. M. C. A., provide entertainments and social games, by far the most popular being those in which the men can participate either by singing or performing. As a rule all are physically tired when 'lights

out' is sounded at nine o'clock; they are contented and feel as never before radiantly, buoyantly healthy.

When the necessary adjustments are made to the new conditions of the camp, life does not appear monotonous and dull. Time passes very rapidly and many prefer the varied program to the old forms of labor in the workshop, factory, on the farm, or at the office desk. Great pleasure, exhilaration and satisfaction are derived from the war game. On the march the rhythmical swinging step, martial music, admiration of the onlookers and the glamor of the uniform evoke a consciousness of strength, increase the feelings of contentment, elation and pride and simultaneously help to subordinate the ego to the welfare of the battalion. Participation in manoeuvres mechanizes the mind, develops the power of self-control, enforces discipline, curbs curiosity, suppresses fear and eliminates the use of initiative unless the soldier is a part of a special squad assigned to such practices as bombing, sniping and scouting. Fatigue duties, caring for the camp and attending to the many details of military life submerges individuality, narrows the mental vision, fosters patience, discipline, and respect for their officers. After months of training the men grow tired of the war game and become restless, eager and desirous to go abroad.

A natural question is: By what method are the men located in the specific branches of the army service? How are mental traits and physical aptitudes correlated with the new sphere of activities?

To such questions we can only answer we do not know. That some process of analysis takes place is certain but the actual procedure is a government secret. Some French morphologists (10) have suggested that their government bases the assignments upon the type characteristics. These types are conditioned by rapport with the environment, cosmic elements, air, earth, and water. The examinations consist of measurements of the head, the trunk and the limbs. Four types are suggested: the muscular; digestive; respiratory and the cerebral, but more often combinations of these exist. As a result of continued struggle against the environment we have the muscular type. He is characterized by a rectangular shaped face, and strong, regular, well proportioned limbs. This type constitutes 47% of the French people and is found in the agricultural districts. As a soldier he is best in attack, or if muscular-digestive he makes a good artilleryman. The digestive type has a truncated-pyramidal shaped head, a large digestive apparatus, the trunk is long, the limbs short,

round and fat, and the thorax is small. He depends upon good alimentation for his well being. As a soldier he is best in defense. The third type, respiratory, supposedly a descendant of nomadic tribes, has a large thorax and the face is hexagonal shaped. Respiratory individuals are best fitted for service in outposts, in high altitudes including aeronautics; they make good sentinels and cavalymen. Finally, the cerebral, smaller in figure, with a face shaped the reverse of the digestive and often brachycephalic, supplied before the war only 7% of the number of soldiers. This type suffers least from hardship at the time, keeps up in forced marches, and makes good officers and secretaries. The disposition to disease of these divisions may be generalized as (1) catarrh and asthma; (2) disease of the alimentary apparatus; (3) rheumatism; and (4) headaches. Naturally pure types are rare but usually there is a predominance of one over another. Probably such a system has been adopted by the French and applied in the selection of men during the present conflict and that most of the larger nations have made a selection based upon certain mental and physical dispositions is an established fact.

To this interesting problem the camp life of the soldier lends some suggestions. In connection with every site there are numerous things requiring care and attention. Miniature cities are erected in a few days and when completed they need repairing. So we find men are assigned duties which approximate their vocations. The laborers dig roads and install drainage systems, joiners erect huts and attend to all wooden structures, electricians contribute their experience, clerks are busy at headquarters sorting mail and assisting with the tremendous business of accounting and provisioning, cooks and bakers find their trade always needful and in many ways we see vocational selection. It does not stop here however. The miner becomes a sapper, the mechanic, usually of strong physique and quick mind, mans the artillery or becomes a machine gunner, the engineer builds bridges and cares for the unlimited mechanical appliances used in modern war, and the young business man is always useful in the headquarters division where brains and clerical capacities are required. Vocational selection provides men for special branches of service. It insures not only the necessary psychic qualities but the facility of execution which can only come from long acquaintance in the particular field. For still more specialized work such as the air service recourse must be taken to the finer type distinctions previously suggested.

One value of specialization is often overlooked. Not only does it guarantee organization and efficiency, but these in turn become forces moulding the soldier mind, fostering precision of movement, discipline, love of accuracy, and sociality. It produces the spirit of the hive. All are workers, the men perform their duties with zest and effort and obtain fun and pleasure from them. The exceptions to this are found amongst thinking individuals who are only bored by the monotonous repetition of manual labor. Withal the soldier endures hardships with serenity, patience and determination, grumbles at trifles, yet is ever alert to express his abundance of humor, gaiety and jocularly. When he leaves camp for the fighting front he has a strong physique, nerves of steel, a mind trained to obey and to coöperate, and inured to the dreariness of repetitive action and capable of finding relaxation in the meanest environment.

In this transitional period the tremendous moulding force of epigenetic factors is demonstrated. Everywhere the mind is impressed and altered by them. Other forces are also at work. The real self of the men, the unconscious, also motivates and directs them. It is not so much repressed by traditions and customs. Everywhere the sexual desires find expression resulting in a regression to the lower phyletic levels where coarseness and vulgarity vie with animalism. Perhaps this is due in part to the concentration of large numbers of men, who in society passed unnoticed in the performance of sexual perversions, but, now finding the restrictions removed, and lacking almost entirely the elevating moral influences of family and social life, are governed by this instinct, are controlled by powerful desire. The unconscious, the product of phylogeny and ontogeny finds in a soldier's environment outlets for long repressed wishes and thus reversionary forms of activity are manifested. On the other hand the love of life, and the impending fear of death build up mental complexes and effect changes which lie hidden until a crisis is reached. Later, in section four, we must view these from another aspect of soldier psychology, namely, the war neuroses. At the present, indications point to both epigenetic and endopsychic factors coöperating in producing the soldier out of citizen materials.

THE SOLDIER IN WAR

There is little to be written about the departure from the training camps, probably because the time has not arrived for men to recall such an apparently unimportant phase of war,

but when the period comes for reflection we shall undoubtedly learn more of the psychic states typical of what is really a momentous event. We know however a few details of this period. There are no parting scenes, no farewells; these have all been enacted weeks before upon the occasion of the last furlough. The men entrain for an unknown seaport and a still more remote destination. Only the cheers of comrades awaiting the next transport greet the men for all civilians are held in the rear of the quays. The business of war is early impressed upon the soldier mind, and as a business undesirable and to be quickly finished he will always regard it.

Although the few accounts we have of the journey from England to France all emphasize the cheeriness, jocularity and good humor of the men, there is little doubt that the experience of the soldiers is totally at variance with their apparent indifference to hardships. The surface hilarity may exemplify ambivalence, or it may result from a conscious effort to repress the expression of discontent and to banish the feelings of uncertainty which arise during this period of transition. On the troopship they are huddled together, obliged to sleep on the sawdust covered floor or on the side benches, while many are sea-sick and unable to rest. For the most part they do not betray their feelings by grumbling and complaining, rather they give the impression of contentedness as they sing songs, engage in banter, and congregate in groups puffing at their cigarettes and pipes. It is essential however that we notice the real mental attitude beneath a feigned conduct, for soldiers are human; they appreciate comfort although they do not anticipate much of it and often their good humor is simply a way of making the best of a bad job. Their conduct does not betray despondency; to many the occasion marks their first voyage or sight of the sea, they are filled with wonder and often delighted, but as an undercurrent to the surface thoughts, welling into consciousness in reflective moments, forceful and commanding, are the memories of home, and the homeland, combined with the imaginations of the unknown and long anticipated entrance into war. Of these reflections they seldom speak so that one notices only the customary cheerfulness which has been recognized as a soldier characteristic. Upon arrival at the port, they proceed to camp, a city of bell tents, where they procure equipment and rest for the night. Here men invalided from the firing line relate stories of battle and often leave the impression that it is one great adventure. Early the next morning they fill the long lines of troop trains which are usually composed of

trucks, very uninviting, uncomfortable and not conducive to evoke good feelings or pleasantry. The men undoubtedly endeavor to accept stoically these conditions and in this they are aided by the novelty of a new country, but lest any should confuse the happiness born of an advantageous adjustment to one's environment with the good humor and gaiety of the soldiers, evoked to soften the hardships of their experience, it is only necessary to point to the accounts of discontent often hidden beneath the rhetorical skill of an author. In a personal letter written immediately upon arrival "behind the lines" the case seems to be clearly defined:

"We were five days on our journey which was comprised of a combination of experiences I am not anxious by any means to encounter again, but still if they come—they come, and the best thing is to get through them as cheerfully as possible, which is perhaps not as cheerful, at times, as optimists in songs depict. We had a railway journey of twenty-eight hours, which was the most unique and luxurious I have ever had—a real joy ride. (I don't think). However we prepare for other things instead of a 'feather bed' existence and there are thousands much worse off than we are." (Written March, 1917.)

The cantonments, in which further training is given, vary in character according to their location and size. Invariably they are within sound of the guns where the men may accustom themselves to the minor conditions of the war zone. Usually they present a highly socialized community much like the early training camps. The discipline is now severe. Offences previously considered trivial are crimes punishable by confinement in the guard room. In place of practice in trench duties and longer periods of rest more rigorous tasks are enforced. There are endless parades and the customary practice of Swedish Drills, bomb throwing and bayonet fighting. According to one writer (27, p. 133) the men charged at dummy figures clad in the uniforms of German foot soldiers. If we apply the typical conditions of their early training to the cantonment and remember the dominating influence of the physical life, the narrowing of the psyche, the absolute dependence upon officers, the rigorous discipline, and the abundance of fun and horse-play, we can consider briefly some new factors which play upon the soldier mind.

The new arrivals are much impressed by the indifference to the actual struggle. Men who have been in the trenches seldom talk spontaneously about it, in fact, were it not for the boom of the guns and the incessant movement of troops one might suppose no war was proceeding. "Everything around here, except for the sound of the guns, appears so peaceful that one cannot imagine anything serious going on

about three or four miles away." This seems a typical attitude of the British soldier. Even before the present conditions of trench warfare, which might repress the desire to relate experiences, reticence regarding combat was very noticeable. As an illustration the words of one who lived close to the battlefield may be cited:

"It suddenly occurred to me, as we chatted and laughed, that all the time the English were here they had never once talked battles. Not one of the Tommies had mentioned the fighting. We had talked of home, of the girls they had left behind them, of the French children whom the English loved, of the country, its customs, its people, their courage and kindness, but not one had told me a battle story of any kind, and I had not once thought of opening the subject." (1, p. 167)

War is a business to be seriously left alone when the fighting hours are over. However, everywhere the men refer to personal safety and among the majority a passing remark embodies the wish for a "Blighty" wound which is a wound slight in character necessitating removal to a hospital in England. Another factor which the cantonment presents is the absolute confidence and calm of the men who have spent months in the trenches. They have tested the enemy's strength, repelled his attacks, experienced and survived many dangers and through all have developed qualities which cast out fear, so that what they have once accomplished they feel they can do again. A comparison of the members of an old with a new battalion while on parade previously to entering the trenches reveals the former as resolute, firm, composed and confident in their own strength, while the latter are restless, uneasy, tremulous and fearful. These three factors, indifference to war, the continual reference to "Blighty" wounds as insignificant and desirable, and the self-confidence of the veteran, are potent influences which greatly decrease the nervous tension, allay many fears and rid the battle-field of much of its terror for the recruits; although only actual experience produces the attitude which typifies the accustomed fighter. In addition to these may be considered the example of the peasants who are often under fire and are indifferent to it.

To return to the billet for a further glimpse of the activities we may say that life is varied, often severe and difficult, yet sometimes conducive to merriment and fun, when games are played, and theatricals, concerts and various forms of entertainments are organized in which the soldiers play the important rôle. The old form of story-telling has been superseded by the literary and humorous productions of mem-

bers of the battalions. Carrington has given an interesting account of some of these papers. He says:

"The French particularly have excelled in this. For example, they have issued a periodical in the Champagne, entitled *Le Poilu*, which defines itself as "A journal, humorous, literary, and artistic, of the life of the troglodytes; to appear when and where it can." It contains impressions of the war, messages from home, news and bulletins, Rabelaisian sonnets and other material. Another entitled *La Gazette des Tranchées* (issued in the Argonne), 'an organ founded to maintain the spirit of mirth in France' gives scraps of Parisian life, of the Boulevards, etc., in the character of a general 'Revue'." (9, pp. 54-55)

In contrast with the lighter vein there are the periods of religious observances, church parades and tent meetings, but a consideration of the soldier's religious attitude must be deferred until later.

Undoubtedly many other features not enumerated prepare the men for the actual combat. All the soldiers do not experience the intense coöperative life in the cantonment but live in old buildings, barns, or with the peasants. They do nevertheless participate in all other regimental observances, meet tested and hardened warriors, become acquainted with the boom of the guns, the sight of mud-covered comrades and in general pass through a stage of psychic degeneration, at least of the finer sensibilities, while confidence is gained to enter upon the older racial types of behavior which characterize trench warfare.

The first experience in the trenches is designed to introduce the new regiments to their task. They spend only twenty-four hours in them upon this occasion and are usually situated between well trained troops. The period has been named the "Parapet-etic School." As they move forward, experienced fighters, cognizant of the fear which possesses these students in warfare, never miss a chance to express jokes such as to casually inform them they "have been fattened for the slaughter," and "the communicating trench leads to the cemetery." Typical of soldier discipline incoming troops always give the right of way to the tired outgoing regiment. New troops are always reckless, eager to see the enemy, are slaves of uncurbed curiosity, and only learn at the cost of lives to keep beneath the parapet. The sentinels imagine foes lurking on "No man's land" and at the least disturbance the whole company will man the loopholes and fire recklessly into space. The slightly wounded relate their experience; everyone is intensely excited; and the officers are anxious, grave and worried lest their men should fail. When relieved all feel they have repelled attacks and deserve praise

for their conduct. The older soldiers say the newcomers use more ammunition and material in one day than they would in a month.

One of the first impressions upon entering the trenches is of the tremendous noise and incessant movement. There is little calm, or rest, for the brain. Artillerymen, machine gunners, snipers, sappers, airmen, all vie with each other to secure the coveted advantage called "morale." At first the mind is continually excited and overwrought.

"It must be true of this war (I hear the same thing on all hands) that what strikes you most about it is its overwhelming noise. All the other sensations are secondary—heat, cold, pain, fatigue, danger. That's Nature all over. She doesn't allow you to experience more than one emotion at a time. I know that the four days I've just spent in the trenches have left this one impression on my mind: a shattering roar which no language can describe." (71, p. 39)

Eventually the human organism adjusts itself to this ordeal, for the soldiers take pleasure in counting the shells, judging their size, following their courses and guessing where they will fall. According to their size and speed they have been given special names, such as "Coal Boxes," "Whistling Wil-lies," "Jack Johnsons," or "Black Marias."

For days the walls of the trench, the sandbags, the inside of their dugouts and an occasional glimpse through a loop-hole or periscope at the German parapet, perhaps a hundred yards beyond, constitutes the visual range. Some men have been fighting an enemy for months without ever seeing him. Under these conditions there is a complete narrowing of the psychic life. The physical sensuous nature almost entirely rules. Constant exposure to danger, the focussing of attention upon the means of defense and self-preservation, the uncertainty of physical safety, lessens interest in the details of the day and produces almost a strange hypnotic state of mind in which physical utilities assume supreme importance. As a natural sequence food is very essential for the maintenance of combative efficiency. It has been said "The soldier before dinner and the soldier after dinner are two entirely different beings." The hungry ill-fed soldier cannot fight, he will grumble, lose confidence and often revolt, but given abundant food, with his tobacco and rum, he is an animal, ferocious in the fight and indifferent to the things of the intellect. Referring to such pleasures of sensory appreciations Sir Bampfylde Fuller writes:

"He (man) has so elaborated the simple enjoyment of eating and drinking that for many persons it becomes life's chief attraction; they live to eat; and it is interesting to observe how this pleasure dominates

all other interests when men relapse into the savagery of war. To the soldier in the trenches his meals become the pivot on which the day turns; an army must be well fed in order to respond cheerfully to the general's orders, unless, indeed, the men are fired by religious or patriotic ideals into a glow of self-sacrificing fervour. In conditions of long drawn war, men's tastes revert to the simplest forms and (as letters from the front have amply testified) the greatest hardships may be alleviated by presents of cakes and sweetmeats." (21, p. 139)

In times of intense fighting when for days it is impossible to procure rations the dead are stripped of their packs and one writer (45) reports a case where food covered with blood has been ravenously devoured. The latter should be taken with reserve. Every indication points to a reversion to primitive types, to lower racial levels where the needs of the organism are supplied no matter what the cost. When regiments are seated around the tables in billets after a battle, they notice the gaps in their ranks, and in a dim, almost unconscious way realize in some home there will be a measure of desolation, yet these gaps are taken as a part of war; by the laws of chance they themselves still eat and drink and can be merry. In the act of eating the pangs of sorrow entirely disappear. Food is theirs; why worry about what happened a few days ago. So it is that losses are not felt keenly.

On the firing line, the nearness of danger and possibly of death, although the soldier never believes he will be killed but by some miracle will receive merely a slight wound, automatically breaks down most of the individuality that might be left, throws the men more completely upon the resourcefulness of their officers, more closely unifies and welds the group together and insures complete obedience to authority. Men and officers are inseparably united by the common bond of danger, while their proximity reciprocally dispels the pangs of fear and uncertainty. The massing together of men governed by the instinct of self-preservation, intent upon the destruction of an enemy and performing onerous duties as effectively as possible, releases hidden forces of resourcefulness, endurance, and strength which are directed so as to protect not merely the individual but the group. All are bound together in a common cause; class distinction, social superiority, is forgotten among privates and even the officers are not regarded primarily as a socially privileged class but are superior because they possess authority, valuable information and are invested with the right to think and decide matters of extreme importance. Instinctively the need of a leader is felt; it is a soldier trait to imitate and this satisfac-

tion he obtains through his officers. Without leadership he knows the company would be a mob, ungovernable, and more dangerous than his greatest enemy. Fortunately the officers are usually men possessing most of the soldier virtues, who exemplify the valor, bravery, courage and recklessness necessary for aggressive warfare while excelling also in the important qualities of patience, determination, sociality, discretion and strong sympathy, so essential during the trying months of trench confinement. The graphic words of one of these men reveals a chapter of social psychology: "It's hard marching, shrapnel and machine gun fire, barbed wire and all the rest of it that levels cabbages and kings." (71, p. 28.)

Never before in army life has there been established between officers and men relations so cordial, often amounting to devotion to each other despite the very apparent differences of education and social advantages. Cases are by no means rare of supreme sacrifices, made, either to save their officer, or by an officer to protect his men. An officer writes:

"I've seen them wounded and keeping on as if nothing had happened. It's not that they don't feel the pain—make no mistake about that—they won't feel it. During an advance, if cover's scanty, they won't monopolize it if an officer is anywhere about. When you do the smallest thing for their comfort or convenience they're quick to appreciate it; in success their enthusiasm is the most sanely delightful thing conceivable; a reverse doesn't dishearten them. They grumble at trifles and laugh at difficulties. Oh! Tommy's a wonderful chap There's something about him, dirty or clean, swearing or silent, glad or sad, hurt or whole, that is just unbeatable. You can't knock him out. If our fellows are devoted to us it's only a case of reciprocation." (71, p. 53.)

Like gregarious animals whose strength increases in direct proportion to the solidarity of the group and whose fear vanishes with the feeling of unity so men in battle who live in a manner typical of the lower racial levels automatically seek the protection of comrades by sinking their personality into the fighting unit.

Balck. "In the danger zone which suddenly surrounds and startles him in war, the soldier feels in the first place, a desire to have someone assure him that the seemingly critical situation in which he finds himself is as it should be. His eye is naturally directed upon his officers. If the officer's quiet glance reminds him that here, as in peace time, the first duty is obedience, and if he subsequently sees the officer advance fearlessly and vigorously he will as a rule not worry about the why or the wherefore." (18, p. 33.)

Obviously dependence upon officers and fellowmen and the general condition of trench life fulfils most of the requirements of normal suggestibility. As a gregarious animal the soldier acts upon whatever is suggested to him. The

moment he enters the firing line he encounters an environment which fixates his attention upon one subject,—to kill his enemy and to preserve himself; his mind is distracted from all else and after the novelty of the first few days wears off, the monotony of his confined life narrows his mental vision and also limits voluntary movement. Thus tremendous psychic tension results; the strain of watching and seeing nothing becomes almost unbearable, and the continual emotions of fear which at first possesses all as a result of unseen foes combine to lower the reaction threshold to suggestion. The result of this is twofold. It magnifies the importance of the officers, giving to them prestige, and it merges the individual still further into the social consciousness, making discipline the handmaiden of self-preservation, and initiative its enemy.

Unless the soldiers became indifferent to the noise, to unceasing movement, to the squalid, muddy, narrow trenches, to cold, rain, heat, pain, and even death, life would be intolerable, impossible after the first few weeks' experience. It is an inherent quality of the human species to rapidly adapt the organism to its environment, and such an adaptation occurs. In order to more readily understand what is now recognized as almost absolute indifference to trench warfare, and to appreciate the genuine cheerfulness and happiness of the combatant in face of death and amidst scenes which would be gruesome, repulsive and detrimental to the strongest nerved civilian, it is necessary to determine the relative importance of fear, and also the soldier's attitude to death itself. Very often the statement has been made that the seasoned soldier does not experience fear, at least not in the front line trenches. This is only a half truth. The veteran both experiences fear and more readily confesses it than those less habituated to war, but he has gradually grown accustomed to the common dangers. For weeks the men suffer from intense fright as comrades are killed or horribly mutilated, and it is only gradually they overcome their fears and grow callous, indifferent, fatalistic—almost unmoved by the cries of wounded and the loss of friends. Fear, the primary emotion, is characterized by an ambivalent tendency. The typical forms of behavior which are its accompaniments may pass over into valor and courage, and the individual may radiate hope and cheerfulness. "Familiarity breeds contempt" or what is perhaps more true is that the human organism adapts itself to every situation, provided sufficient time elapses between the first stages of fright, and fear of the unseen and unpre-

ventable, and the secondary periods of familiarity with danger. It is not that the soldier does not fear but he has ceased to fear certain situations because he has been safe comparatively during his experiences, or he has escaped injury so often. Death is the negation of all his desires and he fears it except when he is activated solely by his emotions, then life or death do not seem to be in his keeping. The constant hope for a "Blighty" wound is born of a fear of death and so real is this fear that it creates compensating psychic states which culminate in a belief that he will not be killed. Under unique situations, such as separation from comrades, holding the advanced trenches, or when confronted by new enemy devices, fear possesses the soldier. When surrounded by companions it moves him to find protection in the group consciousness, to submerge his personality, to automatically obey and even to welcome severe discipline. His fear for personal safety is repressed; to express it while in the danger zone would incur the penalty he desires to avoid. So men fear personally yet never communicate it until out of danger. We need therefore to distinguish between the periods of intense emotion and accustomed situations on the one hand and the period of self-consciousness and introspective analysis. Soldiers who have passed fearlessly through an enemy barrage and succeeded in attaining their objective, when suddenly aware they are isolated or alone invariably experience fear, though it may be momentary. Most accounts agree that the fear of death for the soldier is not as terrifying as it is for the civilian. Their intimate acquaintance with it destroys much of its terror but the soldier actually struggling with an enemy and the self-conscious soldier are two different beings. The opinions of a man behind the lines and one just fresh from the conflict often vary and the same soldier finds it difficult to analyze his feelings without contradiction upon the same occasion.

Perhaps a few quotations may help to clarify a difficult problem. In the early stages of the war an officer wrote:

"Pain must be a relative thing, or some people wouldn't stand it better than others It can't be the colour of blood that's so upsetting; . . . it must be because it's wet. Pity we can't bleed something dry Of course to be at war and not get accustomed to the sight of blood is an impossibility. You get callous of it when you see men laughing though they're covered with it, fighting though they can't see for it, dying for the loss of it."

"And just as you get to think of blood as a customary sight, so you become accustomed to the idea of death. It's all around you, not remote as in times of peace. It's peace that makes the love of life so falsely precious. In places where a man carries his life in his hands,

and in war, he sees death in its right perspective, which means, oddly enough, that it's shorn of its terrors. Perhaps it needed a great war like this to bring things into focus again." (71, pp. 15-16.)

From this we might conclude fear was entirely lacking, but why is blood "upsetting?" Why the pity of its very nature? The same man in a later letter commenting upon the bravery of his men remarks:

"Bravery, when you come to think of it, is one of the most fluid qualities. There is such a thin line dividing it from cowardice, and the name of that line, which sometimes is stretched so tightly that it has to snap, is not, remark you, lack of courage, but of nerves. If a man's nerves are good he stands a good chance of doing something decent; if they're not, all the more honor to him if he stands at all and does not run away." (71, p. 130.)

In this brief discussion, the factors inherited and acquired which increase nervous resistance to adverse and destructive stimuli cannot be enumerated, but is it not evident that bravery and courage are not evoked by compatible emotions but are the end results of fears, contravalent results which are uncertain, bordering upon flight or resistance? President Hall in his study of fear records:

"Yet fear has its fascinations, and strong, adventurous souls not only face danger when it comes, but go forth to meet it. Cowardice thus has its countervailing impulse in courage. The prospect of pain acts as a tonic and one does not need to be a hero to love to take risks and to venture in order to have. Not only is one measure of values the dangers we will face to attain them, but curiosity, lust for knowledge, wealth, power, ambition, control if they do not cast out fear. The great culture heroes set men free from fears. Without known danger life would be tame, insipid, asthenic. Men fight best if rightly afraid and even weak animals which would fly when brought to bay fight with the energy of desperation." (26, p. 153.)

To anticipate a study of behavior during the charge, several accounts may be used here with value. Reflecting upon the moment of advancing one says:

"There on the open field of death my life was out of my keeping, but the sensation of fear never entered my being. There was so much simplicity and so little effort in what I had done, in doing what eight hundred comrades had done, that I felt I could carry the work before me with as much credit as my code of self respect required." (45, p. 72.)

Of the same experience when engaged in ambulance work he continues:

"The harrowing sight was repellent, antagonistic to my mind. The tortured things lying at my feet were symbols of insecurity, ominous reminders of danger from which no discretion could save a man. My soul was barren of pity; fear went down into the innermost parts of me, fear for myself. The dead and dying lay all around me; I felt a vague obligation to the latter; they must be carried out." (45, p. 77.)

Of an occasion during a retreat in the same battle which lasted for days he says:

"I had got beyond that mean where the soul of a man swings like a pendulum from fear to indifference, and from indifference to fear. In danger I am never indifferent, but I find that I can readily adapt myself to the moods and tempers of my environment. But all men have some restraining influence to help them in hours of trial, some principle or some illusion. Duty, patriotism, vanity and dreams come to the help of the men in the trenches, all illusions probably, ephemeral and fleeting, but for a man who is as ephemeral and fleeting as his illusions are, he can lay his back against them and defy death and the terrors of the world. But let him for a moment stand naked and look at the staring reality of the terrors that engirt him and he becomes a raving lunatic." (45, p. 161)

Another soldier says that when leaving the trenches fear is greatest.

"The fear of being hit by shell or bullet was a hundred-fold greater than it had been during their part in action, when the risk was easily a hundred times greater, and more sympathy was expended over one man 'casualtied' coming out than over a score of those killed in the actual fight." (5, p. 123)

Kreisler who spent four weeks in the Austrian trenches believes that a man becomes indifferent to danger if the organism is worn down and the brain and faculty of perception is numbed by physical exertion.

Norman Hall describing the attitude of a bombing party writes:

"They went to their places with that spirit of stolid cheeriness which is the wonder and admiration of everyone who knows Tommy Atkins intimately. Formerly, when I saw him in this mood, I would think 'He doesn't realize. Men don't go out to meet death like this.' But long association with him had convinced me of the error of this opinion. These men knew death or terrible injury was in store for many of them; yet they were talking in excited and gleeful undertones, as they might have passed through the gates at a football match." (27, p. 180)

If any general conclusion may be drawn from these few quotations, and the war literature contains many references to fear and death, we may say that soldiers experience fear, in degrees determined by individual differences, the situations in which they are placed and the intensity of the emotive state. Towards the death of comrades they are indifferent, due probably to the inner conviction that they themselves will not be killed, while to the customary dangers of normal trench warfare they become almost entirely indifferent. If fear is ambivalent in character, we would therefore expect the soldiers in the trenches to be comparatively cheery and hopeful and this is exactly what we find. Perhaps this surface gaiety, cheerfulness and indifference, has given rise to the belief

that the soldier does not fear. May it not be more plausible that these forms of behavior, dominated by the unconscious, are securities against fear, countervailing expressions whose source is the most persistent and primitive of all the emotions?

During the early days of the war, opposing armies prevented from fraternizing resorted to banter and to a certain degree within each army the same kind of raillery prevailed. President Hall has said that "Psychic jest and joy are greatest when expressed to overcome fear. To substitute a joy for dread constitutes a distinct element in laughter." (Lecture notes, 1916.) The humor of the trenches is naïve, often mere nonsense, but it banishes fear and puts despair to flight. In addition to the standard jokes are the soldier songs, mere parodies of national and patriotic airs or else typical vaudeville "successes" full of references to the female sex. Although the evidence is meagre there is sufficient to postulate that sexual subjects afford much of the material for conversation, jokes and songs. Environed with the horrors and filth of the trenches man loses the veneer of civilization, becomes bestial and unreservedly vents his strong sexual passions. In contrast to the vulgar, repulsive and regressive behavior, necessary perhaps for uncultured men to deaden the mind to more destructive forces, there are those who combat filthy jesting, who yearn to possess again individual freedom, who depend upon the higher sources of a vivid imagination, a dramatic sense, to drive away the fear element and to curb reversionary influences. A representative of this class writes:

"Probably there is no one to whom this saving grace is more essential than to the fighting soldier, especially in winter. Every detail of his life is sordid and uncomfortable. His feet are always damp and cold. He is plastered with mud from head to foot. His clothes cling to him like a wet blanket. He is filthy and cannot get clean. His food is beastly. He has no prospect of anything that a civilian would call decent comfort unless he gets ill or wounded. There is no one to sympathize with his plight or call him a hero. If he has no sense of the dramatic, if his horizon is bounded by the sheer material discomfort and filth which surround him, he will sink to the level of the beast, lose his discipline and self respect, and spend his days and nights in making himself and every one else as miserable as possible by his incessant grumbling and ill-humor." (28, pp. 194-5)

Apparently the number of men who rise above their environment, who master their passions, and retain a grip on personal acquirements is small, but all soldiers unanimously acclaim the humorous sense as a saving grace; it aids to dispel their fears and it creates a necessary atmosphere of cheerfulness.

In the trenches the men in a large degree feel detached

from the world. Some writers have declared soldiers seldom think of home and friends. If this is true it is because they do not have sufficient opportunity and we must remember the field of consciousness is limited. Carrington reports:

"Letters from home, and journals, as they arrive, afford some slight, mental stir and commotion, for a time; but even these seem to leave no durable trace upon the mind, and their images and memories are soon obliterated. Thus a young corporal, in trying to analyze his impressions at the time, said, 'I am not sure that I thought of my family particularly, even when writing home! There seemed somehow to be a veil between us, shutting off all communion of feeling and interest between us.'" (9, p. 60)

If we can accept the personal character of the numerous letters as a criterion of the soldier's detachment from family and friends, there seems to be meagre evidence to prove that he is not conscious of them when writing. True, the men live practically in the senses, think only in a circumscribed manner, converse chiefly of simple things, resort often to gestures, and are dominated by the physical pleasures and pains but they do not entirely forget the past, certainly not their homes. N. S. Hall said that not once, during fifteen months of British army life, did he hear a discussion of mothers, but he accounts for this by saying the soldiers realize the "futility, the emptiness of words in the face of unspeakable experiences."

The war has changed men's religious conceptions. R. J. Campbell states that there are not less than sixty thousand priests serving with the belligerents on all fronts which number does not include the priests of the Russian Eastern Church, or the protestant ministers serving with the British. (6, p. 13.)

During the early days of the war there were many accounts of supernatural interventions of which the best known refers to "The Angels of Mons" but these probably had their origin in the civil zone. Machen, I believe, justly claims credit for the Mons story (47). Religion in the trenches is shorn of its formality and ritual. The Roman Catholic adherents persist in observing their forms but the soldier's personal relation to a higher power has undergone a tremendous change. Not all, but the majority of the men become fatalists. Religion has been associated with observances and self-righteousness or with not drinking, not swearing, possibly not smoking and the avoiding of doubtful characters, and as trench life rather fosters most of these evils they do not want religion. Then their whole experience seems to negate the ideas they have of God and goodness. Furthermore the religious man

often worries, he weighs motives, is introspective and at times is doubtful if he is fit to die. Religion is to be avoided therefore because of this worry and its deterrent power, also because it stands as a sentinel against their immorality. Although they continually display many virtues such as unselfishness, sacrifice of personal safety and kindness, these are never connected with Christianity. There are exceptions. There are men inspired by lofty religious ideals, who feel impelled to battle or to serve in some way because of its righteousness. We can however justly affirm that fatalism prevails as the dominant characteristic in this respect.

One of the strange phenomena of the war is the great lack of hatred of the enemy, at least this is true of the British. Under peculiar circumstances such as when enraged by unnecessary violence or brutality, temporary states of intense hate may prevail but the trench warfare has been characterized by its absence. The soldiers do not revel in killing; they seldom think of the enemy in person; their warfare is mechanical. The prime motive for killing is self-preservation. They kill the enemy that they may not be killed. Such phrases as "I kill Fritz because if I don't he will kill me," and "It was his life or mine" are very commonly expressed. Hankey perhaps has best defined the soldier's attitude:

"The Cockney warrior does not hate the Hun. Often and often you will hear him tell his mate that 'the Bosches is just like us, they wants to get 'ome as much as we do; but they can't 'elp themselves.' At times he has regretful suspicions of the humanity of the Prussians and Bavarians; but they are not long-lived, and even while they endure he consoles himself with the proved good fellowship of the Saxon." (28, p. 91)

Even the sniper, who notches the butt of his rifle every time he scores a hit, will tell you he is proud of his marksmanship, but he instinctively feels that every man he kills saves the life of a comrade. The artillerymen regard the enemy still more impersonally. They never see him in battle, yet they are subjected to intense fire from his guns. Their own success is reported by telephone, their fire is directed by observers and their attention, in an attack, is focussed upon comrades. It is only after the battle is over that they learn of their ultimate success or failure.

The effect of artillery fire is psychical as much as physical. The men behind the guns and those in the trenches have a greater nervous resistance when equal or superior to the enemy in shell power. Kreisler aptly puts it:

"The moral effect of the thundering of one's own artillery is most extraordinary, and many of us thought that we had never heard any

more welcome sound than the deep roaring and crashing that started in at our rear. It quickly helped to disperse the nervousness caused by the first entering into battle and to restore self-control and confidence." (37, p. 22)

Previous to the period of the attack it appears then that the soldier is motivated by the instinct of self-preservation and that he thinks little of the enemy in an abstract way.

Just as there are individual differences manifested in other phases of war, so before the period of attack and during the attack itself these persist. There are however more psychic and physical experiences shared by all during these occasions so that the dissimilarities are almost negligible. While waiting for the artillery to prepare the way, the men are in a state of tension, of extreme excitement and intense emotion. The heart beats faster, the hands tremble, the knees shake, the whole body is flushed with blood and it perspires freely. Crile has presented a valuable physiological interpretation of these phenomena. He says:

"His brain (the soldier's) is activated by the approach of the enemy. The activated brain in turn stimulates the adrenals, the thyroid, the liver. In consequence thyroiodin, adrenalin and glycogen are thrown into the blood in more than normal quantities. These activating substances are for the purpose of facilitating attack or escape. As the secretions thus mobilized are utilized in neither attack nor escape, heat and the muscular actions of shaking and trembling are produced. The rapid transformation of energy causes a correspondingly rapid production of acid by-products. These increased acid by-products stimulate the respiratory center to greater activity to eliminate the carbonic acid gas. The increased adrenalin output mobilizes the circulation in the limbs; withdraws blood from the abdominal area; causes increased heart action and dilatation of the pupils. In addition, the increased acidity causes increased sweating, increased thirst, and increased urinary output, all of these water phenomena being adaptations for the neutralization of acidity." (13, pp. 19-20)

The few retrospections we have of this period invariably emphasize these bodily phenomena. They are the effects of a deep-seated cause. This is not solely the noise of cannon or the other concomitants of accustomed trench warfare for these are daily experiences. For months the trench has afforded shelter and protection, but soon the soldiers must go over the top, face in the open the hail of shrapnel, machine gun and rifle fire and if these are survived there must certainly follow the bayonet encounter. Experienced soldiers are not affected so much as younger men. The former say they do not fear but the latter are fearful. If we may judge their fears by their behavior the evidence is in favor of fear and to a lesser degree of anger being the causes of the physical and mental states. Fear is not present as a decision, "I fear

the future," or "I know death awaits for me," it may only rarely enter the focus of consciousness, but as an unconscious factor, a primitive and racial protection, it dominates the whole organism in the reflective hours before the charge. In this period the mind is clear despite the emotional stress. Thought is rapid, not abstract, but usually concrete imagery. Images of home, parents and friends, and memories of the past are vivid and pleasant, and even trivial incidents flash up. It is a common occurrence to exchange addresses and to pass on requests all relating to relatives; instructions in case of death. In a dim way most of them feel they will survive; they never reason about death yet they do not forget it. Some become reckless, and need to be restrained from jumping over the parapet, others are sustained and inspired by lofty feelings. As the crucial time approaches the memorial impressions fade and the attention is directed upon the enemy and the means of protection. One man said "Fear is before the blood is hot, or when told of the attack" and it is reasonable to believe that fear of danger, of open places, of unseen and uncontrollable forces, and for some perhaps of death itself, initiates the varied behaviors, physical and psychic, in this stage. As a result of the glandular secretions and the corresponding mental strain muscular activity becomes necessary, naturally therefore the first feeling experienced when over the parapet is one of relief. One soldier relates that upon the command "Fix bayonets!" he had a sinking sensation, a feeling of collapse, and his hands trembled violently but a sudden change occurred when commanded to charge. (35a, p. 39.)

The charge marks the culmination of the process of psychic degeneration; there is a complete abeyance of the mental processes, a final narrowing of the psyche. All images and other impressions extraneous to the great directing instinct of self-preservation entirely vanish. The mind is focussed upon one end, to protect the self. To get to the enemy as soon as possible is now the great desire but there is no haste in the forward move. Here lies a difference between the French and British. The former rush impetuously and intrepidly, the latter follow with precision the steadily advancing barrage. Some regiments, especially the Scottish, brandish their arms, shout and utter loud cries, while others are dogged, silent yet irresistibly determined. A peculiar elation takes possession of the mind comparable to a feeling of buoyancy or exhilaration. Every vestige of fear vanishes; it has passed over into anger and the positive bodily actions necessary to

preserve his life. Man is now a brute-beast, shorn of his higher instincts and culture. He is aware only of the group which he unconsciously feels affords protection. He takes no notice of his fallen dead comrades, at times he may use their bodies for cover, while even the cries of the wounded do not deter him from pressing forward. Stretcher bearers who advance with the infantry tell us the faces of the attackers bear savage expressions similar to preying animals. Like animals, only one idea, viz., self-preservation, dominates consciousness, and this is best assured by killing as many of the enemy as possible.

When he meets the enemy his purpose is complete destruction. He does not think of him, there is no pity, no sentiment, no thought of chivalry. Some mysterious force seems to impel him forward. During the earlier stages of the war there was no animosity, no hatred; the man he killed was not a person, a German, but simply an enemy. Recently this has changed because of the outrages which the men have witnessed so that anger and intense hatred are powerful activators. The following quotation characterizes what was the attitude of most soldiers:

"I asked Zeni Peshkoff, socialist, what his sensations were when he went out to kill. 'It didn't seem real, it doesn't now. Before my last charge the lieutenant and I were filled with the beauty of the night. We sat gazing at the stars. Then the command came and we rushed forward. It did not seem possible I was killing human beings.'" (M. Z. Doty. *Short rations*, pp. 61, 62)

The first contact of the soft body of the enemy upon the bayonet and the gush of the hot blood produces a sensation of horror which almost paralyses the victor but this soon passes off as he realizes the more he kills the less chance there is of being killed himself, in fact this horror finally becomes a thrill of pleasure. To cite from Carrington's article; a man was asked whether he felt horrified when he bayoneted his man,

"Not at all," he replied; "I had a curious sensation in my arms as I felt the soft body, and I grew fatigued with continued fighting. But the action was of such short duration, and I felt all the time so keenly that I was fighting for my life, and seeking only to preserve myself, by killing the enemy that I gave no thought to him." (9, p. 66)

From this he concludes "The act of killing does not shock; that is established beyond a doubt." Such a conclusion overstates the actual effects for the impression made upon the nervous system, and conserved in the unconscious, at some future date may possess the soldier's mind, causing severe mental disorders. Just as the soldier thinks only of the enemy,

so he ceases during action to be governed by the ethical code of the civilian. He does not question the morality of his acts, he never thinks of it. In a similar manner he is unaware of the bravery of his deeds. Courage is now determined by circumstances and the emotional intensity; it is not the result of reason and does not necessarily depend upon physical prowess and strength.

The attack emphasizes the importance of the officers and of the long period of trench discipline. As a result of the intensive training, in actual combat it is easier for a single principle to sway the whole being; for the mind to become non-rational and simple. The officers must now direct the proceedings entirely, they must determine the extent of the attack for the men are intent on their own protection, the killing of the enemy, and in this they require both encouragement and restraint. Furthermore the leaders determine the morale of the troops who instinctively are imitators and who regard their officers as symbols of duty, discipline and the nation. At times the loss of an officer may terrorize a company and cause disaster to a regiment.

Other occasions of conscious fears are few during combat perhaps the typical one being that of isolation from the group, when fear results in flight or other means of escape.

While the charge represents a regression in phylogeny and initiates a period of control by instinctive reactions where the emotions and behavior function for self-preservation, it does not parallel the stage of the love of killing nor even animal levels entirely. Only in rare cases will a soldier kill the enemy when he signals his surrender which goes to prove that the theory of struggle in a causal sense is ever subject to the real, deeper motive of protection.

The intensity of the fighting produces great physical changes. Usually the soldiers leave the battle fatigued, showing signs of the strain on their faces and limpid bodies while often they are hysterically cheerful, probably due to the nervous reaction. The ordeal upon reflection seems a long one, as one man in answer to the question "What sort of a week have you had;" put it, "It hasn't been a week, son, it's been a lifetime!"

In modern trench warfare armies seldom suffer a retreat, but usually a series of repulses. The attackers and defenders experience similar psychic changes except that the latter if subjected to intense bombardment suffer from nervous collapse due probably more to physical katabolism than to psychoses. If reverses are common there follows a lowering

of the morale. A retreat may be of the nature of a panic, when fear, rising above the unconscious, gains the final path, or it may, as it often is, be a methodical falling back, marked by continued fighting. Artillery support has changed the nature of fighting so much and the contestants are so evenly equipped that to put an intrenched army to flight is almost an impossibility.

In the great retreat through Belgium and Northern France the factor of fatigue was important as a determinant of conduct. At first the men were surprised, then discontented and resentful, and later owing to the loss of sleep and a resulting fatigue they grew apathetic, indifferent to the finer sensibilities, to sorrow, hope or happiness, until anger, rage and discontent supplanted their opposite emotions. The mind is concentrated upon the body which is oversensitive to pain. It appears that the visual and auditory thresholds are raised for they no longer function efficiently. Just as in the charge so now behavior is a reaction to the protective instincts, but whereas in the former the glands function excessively, thereby increasing nervous and physical resistance, in the retreat such secretions are prevented by the toxic products, due to fatigue. Finally the desire for sleep is more powerful than the will to live; the mental yields to physical demands. So men slept when marching; when in position for firing sleep overcame them; they slept when death was near; some were captured asleep. This great continued retreat, lasting nine days, during which men marched one hundred and eighty miles burdened with their equipment, fighting losing battles, and at all times held in check by promises of ultimate success and needed rest, illustrates the tremendous sustaining power of the psychic and nervous mechanisms.

When the moment of the advance came after a brief period of rest the weakest men were brave, all experienced feelings of elation, they were lifted above their apathy, and the whole physical organism tingled with excitement. Of the many factors producing such a transformation the important are: the opportunity to meet the foe upon equal terms; the release from continued purely defensive effort, or the thrill of the offensive, of superiority; the powerful motive of revenge; and the desire to excel in heroic actions, which is an imaginative reverie.

Soldiers wounded in the charge or retreat are not aware of the degree of their injury until unable to use the affected member. Thus a rifle bullet causes a burning sensation which passes unheeded when not received in a vital organ, and some men who had a limb shot away said they did not notice it

until they fell on the shattered stump. If able, wounded men instinctively seek cover either near at hand or they crawl to the trenches. When conscious the rational processes often return, the men think of more severely wounded comrades; they are chivalrous, heroic, brave, they will seldom monopolize ambulance facilities until these are removed. This is not the bravery of unreflective moments, it does not parallel the heroism of the charge, for the men realize their danger, and they are torn by fears. It is due to the reassertion of the higher mental processes, to the establishment of the normal relation of the conscious and unconscious which again function the sympathetic emotions. If cognizant of immediate death their thoughts are of home, and sometimes of God and the future, but just as often they ask about the result of the battle and the welfare of comrades.

No generalization can be made about the psychic states of the wounded as these are determined by the seriousness of the injury, more especially the organs affected. In the same ward are men whose language is obscene, who curse God and country, who rave about sex and immoral conduct, who rail their neighbor because his gangrenous wound emits nauseating odors and whose only thought is of a world turned against them; while others are courteous, childish in simplicity, mindful of comrades and nurses, who bear pain stoically, who seek comfort in religion and who often think of home and family. If they know they cannot return to the fighting line their attention is focussed upon the immediate present, the future is too uncertain, too terrible to contemplate; these painful thoughts apparently are suppressed unconsciously. Few in number are those who anticipate with pleasure the return to combat, the majority abhor war, their experiences are too unreal, too horrible, and usually their reply to questions of the future are, "It's the business of war," or "*C'est la guerre, que voulez-vous.*" When asleep their dreams are about the enemy, the battle and their part in it; they cry out, pull their bandages off and often endeavor to leap out of bed even though severely wounded, while many others are disturbed with sexual phantasies, which likewise are communicated by word and action. We cannot therefore generalize or point to a typical psychic state as in the charge but we may believe that to these men war is repulsive, not to be discussed, and that the present is all-important.

To what extent the experiences of the great war affect the soldier-citizen in his re-established civic life is for the future to disclose.

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